Ray Haynes

Sacramento, CA 95814

November 2, 2007

Office of General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E Street NW Washington, D.C. 20463

MUR# 5952

FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION
OFFICE OF GENERA
COUNSEL

Dear General Counsel:

Please accept this letter as a formal complaint regarding violations of the Federal Election Campaign Laws and Federal Election Commission regulations by the Hillary Clinton for President Committee (HCPC), "Californians for Fair Election Reform" (CFER) and four HCPC financial sponsors: Thomas Steyer, Nancy Parrish, Warren Hellman and Norman Lear.

The San Francisco Chronicle has reported¹ that leading political operatives who are closely associated with the presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton formed CFER, ² a California ballot measure committee, in September 2007 with the sole purpose of expending funds on petition blocking activities and communications (including television advertisements) in order to significantly reduce the chance that a proposed ballot initiative, the Presidential Electoral College Reform Act (PERA), would be able to successfully conduct a petition drive to place the proposed election reform measure on the June 2008 California ballot.

ABC News has likewise reported³ that Chris Lehane, a political operative with close ties to the HCPC campaign was active in initiating the CFER ballot measure committee with the objective of keeping PERA off the California ballot.

All news report indicate that the sole purpose of the flurry of activity engaged in by HCPC operatives in forming and donating to CFER was to help the Clinton campaign.

¹ http://www.sfeate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2007/10/07/MNSESIOTG.DTL, "State Dem Group played hardball to kill GOP election system plan." By Carla Marinucci, Chronicle Political Writer, Sunday, October 7, 2007

http://cal-access.ss.ca.gov/Campaign/Committees/Detail.aspx?id=1300811

http://abclocal.go.com/kgo/story?section=politics&id=5690852, "Clinton Ties to Electoral Ballot Initiative Fight", Mark Matthews, October 4, 2007

FEC rules prevent donors from giving presidential candidates donations in excess of \$2,300. Yet, Thomas Steyer, Nancy Parrish, Warren Hellman and Norman Lear have each given CFER donations substantially in excess of \$2,300.

According to reports filed with the California Secretary of State, Steyer donated \$111,475.00 to CFER. Parrish donated \$25,000; Hellman donated \$25,000 and Lear donated \$50,000.4

As the news reports make clear, the purpose of these donations was to help the HCPC campaign by paying for efforts to block PERA.

San Francisco Chronicle reporter Carla Marinucci reports that as soon as Clinton operative Chris Lehane heard of the PERA initiative on July 17, 2007:

"Lehane...contacted Sullivan and Tom Steyer, a longtime major party donor and lead fundraiser for Kerry who heads San Francisco-based Farallon Capitol. He said, 'We've got to stop this now'...and immediately kicked in \$150,000."

The goal of these efforts, Clinton operative Margie Sullivan told a reporter, was:

"...to 'strangle the baby in the cradle' and kill the ballot measure early, rather than let it qualify for the ballot—where it would be much tougher and more expensive to beat."

These descriptions leave no room for doubt that the financial donations that flowed freely into CFER from Steyer, Parrish, Lear and Hellman were made on behalf of the desire of the HCPC presidential campaign to prevent PERA from qualifying for the ballot, because HCPC and its operatives believed they needed to stop PERA in order to promote Hillary Clinton's electoral prospects.

The FEC has recognized in the past that donations to ballot measure campaigns (in this case, Californians for Fair Election Reform) that are identified with a certain candidate are essentially efforts to support that candidate:

The Commission believes that communications qualifying for a ballot initiative or referendum exemption could well be understood to promote, support, attack, or oppose Federal candidates.

Commission Final Rules and Explanation and Justification on "Electioneering Communications," 67 Fed. Reg. 65190, 65202 (Oct. 23, 2002).

Upon information and belief, Clinton operatives Chris Lehane and Margie Sullivan, and Clinton financial sponsors Thomas Steyer, Nancy Parrish, Warren Hellman and Norman Lear have followed just such a strategy in California.

⁴ http://cal-access.ss.ca.gov/Campaign/Committees/Detail.aspx?id=1300811&view=received

Their donations to the Californians for Fair Elections Reform ballot committee should be regarded as hidden donations to the Hillary Clinton for President Committee. It is entirely clear from news reports that these operatives and donors perceived their work and donations as efforts to enhance her electoral prospects and, that, indeed, their work and donations had no other purpose.

It defies belief that the HCPC campaign itself was not involved with this effort to block PERA from the ballot in order to enhance Clinton's electoral chances.

In sum, the large donations to CFER by Steyer, Parrish, Lear and Hellman are nothing other than a means of using soft money to influence Hillary Clinton's election. The sums of money they contributed at the urging of HCPC operatives Lehane and Sullivan vastly exceed allowable donations to presidential candidates. These donations run afoul of federal campaign finance limitations.

I believe that the Hillary Clinton for President Committee (HCPC), "Californians for Fair Election Reform" (CFER), Thomas Steyer, Nancy Parrish, Warren Hellman and Norman Lear should immediately be investigated by the Commission to determine whether (a) the donations to CFER were illegally coordinated expenditures that (b) exceed allowable federal campaign contribution limits.

California's voters deserve full reporting and compliance with federal laws about allowable maximum contributions to presidential candidates.

Ray Haynes, Complainant Sacramento, California

VERIFICATION

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Ray Haynes, Complainant		
Signed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public, this	day of	, 2007

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